

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 IOE-00 ACDA-07  
CIAE-00 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 NRC-05  
OES-06 FEAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 ARA-06 NEA-10 SSO-00  
NSCE-00 INRE-00 SS-15 /117 W  
-----062001Z 088794 /43

O P 061738Z APR 77  
FM USMISSION IAEA VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8902  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN PRIORITY  
USERDA HQ WASHDC  
USERDA HQ GERMANTOWN  
USMISSION USUN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L IAEA VIENNA 2755

DEPT PASS IO/SCT; CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: AORG, IAEA, PARM, SF  
SUBJECT: FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA ON IAEA BOARD OF GOVERNORS

REF: (A) STATE 067651; (B) IAEA VIENNA 2438

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS RECOMMENDATIONS ON TALKING  
POINTS AGREED ON BY REPS OF US, UK, CANADA AND AUSTRALIA, AS  
WELL AS SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS ON TIMING OF DEMARCHES IN  
CAPE TOWN AND IN CAPTIALS. END SUMMARY.

1. VIENNA REPS OF US, UK, CANADA AND AUSTRALIA AGREED APRIL  
5 TO FORWARD TO THEIR CAPITALS FOLLOWING TEXT OF RECOMMENDED  
TALKING POINTS WHICH COULD BE USED AS THE BASIS FOR A  
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COORDINATED DEMARCHE TO SAG, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT  
INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS COULD ELABORATE ON THESE POINTS  
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL CIRCUMSTANCES TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE  
STATE OF THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

QUOTE 1. THE TWENTIETH GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE IAEA CALLED  
UPON THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS "TO REVIEW THE ANNUAL DESIGNA-

TION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AS THE MEMBER FOR THE AREA OF AFRICA..." WE THINK IT VERY LIKELY THAT, IF EVENTS ARE LEFT TO TAKE THEIR COURSE, WHEN THIS ISSUE IS DISCUSSED IN THE BOARD IN JUNE, THE BOARD WILL REFUSE TO REDISIGNATE SOUTH AFRICA.

QUOTE 2. WE WOULD REGARD THIS AS A CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE IAEA STATUTE. BECAUSE OF THIS, MY GOVERNMENT JOINED IN THE INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS IN RIO WHICH RESULTED IN SOUTH AFRICA RETAINING ITS POSITION ON THE BOARD IN 1976.

QUOTE 3. MY GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED AGAIN TO TAKE PART IN NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE THE JUNE BOARD WITH A VIEW TO TRYING TO FIND A SOLUTION WHEREBY SOUTH AFRICA MAY REMAIN ON THE BOARD. THERE ARE VARIOUS POSSIBLE DEVICES FOR DOING THIS, BUT ALL DEPEND ON PERSUADING THE AFRICAN STATES THAT THEY HAVE AN INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT IN THE IAEA.

QUOTE 4. IN OUR OPINION, A POSITIVE AND CONVINCING STEP IN THE FIELD OF NON-PROLIFERATION BY SAG WOULD BE HELPFUL IN ACHIEVING A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM. SAG IS WELL AWARE OF OUR OWN LONG-STANDING INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICAN ADHERENCE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME FOR REASONS WHICH GO FAR BEYOND THE QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP ON THE IAEA BOARD.

QUOTE 5. AT THE RIO CONFERENCE, THE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A COMPROMISE WERE HELPED BY SOUTH AFRICA'S EARLIER OFFER TO PLACE UNDER SAFEGUARDS ITS COMMERCIAL ENRICHMENT PLANT. BUT SINCE THEN THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE PROGRESS ON THIS OFFER. THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCELERATION OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CONTRIBUTION TO THE EFFORT TO KEEP SOUTH AFRICA ON THE BOARD, ALTHOUGH MUCH OF THE VALUE HAS ALREADY BEEN EXTRACTED FROM THIS OFFER. FURTHER ACTION BY SOUTH AFRICA OF A KIND TO CARRY CONVICTION WITH THE AFRICAN STATES MIGHT INCLUDE: (A) AN AUTHORITATIVE AND CONVINCING STATEMENT OF READINESS TO ADHERE TO THE NPT; (B) NEGOTIATION OF AN NPT-TYPE SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT WITH THE AGENCY IN ADVANCE OF FORMAL ADHERENCE TO THE NPT; (C) AN AUTHORITATIVE OFFER TO ACCEPT FULL FUEL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS OVER SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR INDUSTRY.

QUOTE 6. WE AGAIN URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO RE-EXAMINE ITS POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME IN THE LIGHT OF ITS OWN NATIONAL INTEREST, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT NOT ONLY ITS BOARD MEMBERSHIP BUT THE INCREASING WORLDWIDE CONCERN THAT THE REGIME BE EXTENDED TO AS MANY STATES AS POSSIBLE.

QUOTE 7. SHOULD SOUTH AFRICA, AS A RESULT OF THIS RE-EXAMINATION, DECIDE TO MAKE PUBLIC A CONVINCING UNDERTAKING VIS-

A-VIS THE NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXPLORE ALL POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS TO MAINTAIN SOUTH AFRICA'S MEMBERSHIP ON THE BOARD. WE ARE UNABLE TO GUARANTEE THE SUCCESS OF THESE EFFORTS BUT WITHOUT A POSITIVE AND CONVINCING STEP SUCH AS SUGGESTED ABOVE, THE PROSPECTS FOR A COMPROMISE SOLUTION ARE VERY POOR.

QUOTE 8. AS IT IS EXPECTED THAT INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL BEGIN IN THE NEAR FUTURE, WE BELIEVE A POSITIVE STEP SHOULD BE TAKEN BY MID-MAY AT THE LATEST. UNQUOTE.

2. ABOVE TEXT REFLECTS STRONG WISH ON PART OF UK AND AUSTRALIA NOT TO APPEAR TO LIMIT SCOPE OF POSSIBLE OPTIONS SAG MIGHT CONSIDER TO NPT ADHERENCE ALONE, BUT TO ALLOW SAG SOME ROOM FOR FLEXIBILITY IN TAKING ALTERNATIVE STEP WHICH NONETHELESS COULD BE OF CONSIDERABLE VALUE TO US; E.G., NEGOTIATION OF NPT TYPE SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT OR AGENCY-DRAFTED CONFIDENTIAL

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FULL FUEL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT. SIMILARLY, BECAUSE UK HAS NOT RPT NOT PREVIOUSLY APPROACHED SAG ON SUBJECT OF NPT ADHERENCE, UK WILL NOT USE SECOND SENTENCE OF TALKING POINT FOUR. THIS IS IN KEEPING WITH OUR RECOMMENDATION FOR SOME FLEXIBILITY IN INDIVIDUAL APPROACHES (PARA 1 ABOVE), AND ON THAT SAME BASIS MISSION RECOMMENDS THAT US APPROACH LAY STRESS ON IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO NPT ADHERENCE AS NOTED BY DEPT IN PARA 4 REF A.

3. RE TIMING OF COORDINATED DEMARCHES, FOUR REPS RECOMMEND AS FOLLOWS:

(A) WHILE TIMING OF 5-POWER DEMARCHE ON NAMIBIA OBVIOUSLY WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, 4-POWER DEMARCHE ON NON PROLIFERATION SHOULD TAKE PLACE NO LATER THAN APRIL 15;

(B) FOR MAXIMUM IMPACT ON SAG, DEMARCHES IN CAPITALS SHOULD OCCUR SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THOSE IN CAPE TOWN;

(C) FRG AND FRANCE SHOULD BE INFORMED OF PLANNED APPROACH IN PARIS AND BONN, AS WELL AS IN VIENNA, WHEN INSTRUCTIONS OF FOUR GOVTS INVOLVED HAVE BEEN ISSUED;

(D) LOCAL SOUTH AFRICAN RES REP SHOULD BE INFORMED AT SAME TIME DEMARCHES OCCUR.

4. PLEASE ADVISE STONE

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009